

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2389

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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USMISSION BERLIN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 21981

GENEVA FOR US CSCE DEL

TAGS: PFOR EEC FR CSCE CA CY GR UN PO XF
SUBJECT: EC FOREIGN MINISTERS POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS
SEPTEMBER 16.

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. QUAI POLITICAL DIRECTOR PUAUX BRIEFED ME ON SUBSTANCE OF SEPTEMBER 16 EC FOREIGN MINISTERS POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS. KEY ITEMS THEY ADDRESSED INCLUDED EC NINE POLICIES REGARDING CYPRUS, GREECE, CSCE AND PORTUGAL. THEY ALSO DISCUSSED THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE AND EC-CANADIAN RELATIONS. IN OUR MEETING, PUAUX SEEMED TO TRY TO GIVE MEANING TO THE IDEA OF IMPROVED US-GOF RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. QUAI POLITICAL DIRECTOR PUAUX ASKED ME TO MEET HIM THIS AFTERNOON (SEPTEMBER 17) FOR A REPORT ON THE EC FOREIGN MINISTERS POLITICAL CONSULTATION MEETING SEPTEMBER 16 IN PARIS. PUAUX SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO TELL ME ABOUT THAT MEETING, ADDING THAT GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HAD MADE A SPECIAL POINT OF UNDERLINING THAT I SHOULD BE BRIEFED ON THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' DISCUSSION OF THE CYPRUS SITUATION. ACCORDING TO PUAUX, GENSCHER SAID THAT THE FRG HAD HAD CONTACTS WITH THE US EMBASSY IN BONN REGARDING THE SUBJECT AND THAT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE US WAS INTERESTED IN THE EC POSITION ON CYPRUS. PUAUX PROCEEDED TO REPORT ON THIS AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

3. CYPRUS: PUAUX SAID THAT EC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONCENTRATED ON TWO POINTS: THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS (I.E., REFUGEES) AND POLITICAL ASPECTS (I.E., RESUMPTION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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FRUITFUL NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM). HE NOTED THAT THE TWO WERE TIED TOGETHER SINCE MOVEMENT ON THE REFUGEE PROBLEM MIGHT OPEN THE DOOR TO RESUMPTION OF FRUITFUL NEGOTIATIONS. REGARDING THE REFUGEE PROBLEM, PUAUX SAID THAT THERE WERE ABOUT 200,000 GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF CYPRUS WHO WISHED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES IN THE TURKISH-OCCUPIED NORTHERN PART OF CYPRUS. PUAUX RECALLED THE EC DEMARCHE

TO ANKARA AT THE BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER ASKING THAT THE
TURKS MAKE A GESTURE REGARDING THE REFUGEE PROBLEM
(FOCUSING ON FAMAGUSTA) WHICH WOULD PERMIT KARAMANLIS TO
RESUME CONVERSATIONS WITH THE TURKS CONCERNING CYPRUS.
HE SAID THAT ALL SUBSEQUENT CONTACTS OF THE EC NINE
(E.G., UK, FRG, FRANCE) WITH THE TURKS SHOWED THAT THE
TURKS WERE NOT YET READY TO LET ALL REFUGEE GREEK
CYPRIOTS RETURN TO FAMAGUSTA. HE ADDED THAT THE EC NINE
FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE CONCERNED THAT THE CURRENT REFU-
GEE PROBLEM MIGHT DEVELOP INTO A PERMANENT REFUGEE PROB-
LEM AND, CITING THE PROBLEMS OF PALESTINIAN AND BANGLA-
DESH REFUGEES, HE CONCLUDED "WE KNOW HOW DIFFICULT IT IS
TO SOLVE THIS TYPE OF PROBLEM."

4. CONCERNING POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS OVER CYPRUS, PUAUX
SAID THE EC AGREED THAT TALKS BETWEEN THE GREEK AND
TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES WERE THE ONLY WAY TO GET GENU-
INE NEGOTIATIONS GOING. PUAUX SAID THAT THE EC NINE HAD
A "FAINT HOPE" THAT THE CHANGE IN THE TURKISH CABINET MAY
HELP THE TURKS BECOME MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEED FOR A
NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. HE ADDED THAT THE EUROPEANS FELT
THAT THE DOMESTIC TURKISH SITUATION MAY HAVE FORCED
PREMIER ECEVIT TO BE INTRANSIGENT. THE NEW TURKISH GOV-

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ERNMENT, HOWEVER, MAY GIVE ECEVIT A FREER HAND IN FORMULATING A MORE FLEXIBLE TURKISH POLICY REGARDING CYPRUS.

5. PUAUX SAID UN SYG WALDHEIM HAD TOLD SEVERAL EC NINE COUNTRIES THAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY THE TURKISH UN PERMREP THAT ECEVIT WAS UNDER PRESSURE BECAUSE OF THE EXISTENCE OF SEVERAL TURKISH ENCLAVES ON CYPRUS WHICH STILL REMAINED OUTSIDE OF TURKISH MILITARY CONTROL. THE TURKS ASKED WALDHEIM TO HAVE THE UN FORCE ESCORT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS FROM THEIR ENCLAVES TO THE NORTHERN PART OF THE ISLAND. PUAUX SAID THAT, OBVIOUSLY, WALDHEIM COULD NOT DO THIS SINCE IT WAS A POLITICAL PROBLEM OF A TYPE TO BE

RESOLVED BETWEEN THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES. WALDHEIM TOLD THE UK AND FRANCE (AND, ACCORDING TO PUAUX, PROBABLY ALSO THE US) THAT HE FEARED THAT THIS TURKISH OVERTURE MIGHT BE A PRELUDE TO A THIRD TURKISH MILITARY OFFENSIVE ON CYPRUS. IN RESPONSE TO AN INITIATIVE FROM UN OFFICIALS IN CYPRUS, GREEK CYPRIOT AND TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADERS TOLD THE UN THAT THEY DISCOUNTED ANY CHANCE OF RESUMPTION OF THE TURKISH OFFENSIVE. NEVERTHELESS, ACCORDING TO PUAUX, RUMORS CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE ABOUT A "THIRD TURKISH OFFENSIVE." PUAUX SPECULATED THAT, IF THERE WERE ANY TRUTH TO THE RUMOR, A "THIRD TURKISH OFFENSIVE" MIGHT BE NO MORE THAN A "COMMANDO" RESCUE MISSION DESIGNED TO BRING THE INHABITANTS OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ENCLAVES BACK TO THE TERRITORY NOW HELD BY TURKISH FORCES. IN THAT CASE, IT WOULD NOT LEAD TO AN EXTENSION OF THE AREA CURRENTLY CONTROLLED BY THE TURKISH MILITARY. IN CONCLUDING THIS SUBJECT, PUAUX STRESSED THAT THE NEW AND CONFIDENTIAL

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UNKNOWN ELEMENT IN THE EQUATION IS THE CHANGE IN THE CABINET IN ANKARA. ALTHOUGH NO ONE COULD SAY WITH CERTAIN KNOWLEDGE, HE THOUGHT THIS MIGHT UNBLOCK THE ROAD TO SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS OVER CYPRUS.

6. GREECE: PUAUX SAID THAT THE EC NINE AGREED ON THE NEED TO ENCOURAGE THE DEMOCRATIC CHANCE OFFERED BY THE KARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT, AND TO ENCOURAGE THE MAINTENANCE IN ATHENS OF A PRO-WESTERN ORIENTATION. "THAT IS WHY WE THINK WE SHOULD DO OUR UTMOST TO MAINTAIN GOOD LINKS BETWEEN EUROPE AND GREECE," SAID PUAUX. HE ADDED THAT THE ALTERNATIVE TO THIS POLICY IS FRAUGHT WITH DANGER: A PAPANDREOU REGIME WHICH WOULD TAKE GREECE OUT OF THE NATO ALLIANCE AND HAVE NO LINK WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES. THE SEPTEMBER 16 EC FOREIGN MINISTERS DISCUSSION OF GREECE FOCUSED ON GREECE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, PUAUX SAID. THE NINE AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD WORK TOWARD THE REINTEGRATION OF GREECE IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, AND THAT THEIR COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES IN STRASBOURG WOULD BE SO INSTRUCTED. EC-GREEK RELATIONS WERE NOT DISCUSSED ON SEPTEMBER 16, BUT, ACCORDING TO PUAUX, WOULD BE DISCUSSED IN BRUSSELS SEPTEMBER 17.

7. CSCE: PUAUX SAID THAT THE MINISTERS HAD APPROVED THE INSTRUCTIONS TO EC NINE REPRESENTATIVES IN GENEVA. HE ADDED THAT THEY HAD DECIDED TO HAND TO US A COPY OF THOSE INSTRUCTIONS (TEXT TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL).

8. EURO/ARAB DIALOGUE: THE MINISTERS AGREED TO A MEET-

ING IN CAIRO OCTOBER 20 BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EC PRESIDENCY, THE EC COMMISSION, THE PRESIDENCY OF THE ARAB LEAGUE, AND THE SECRETARIAT OF THE ARAB LEAGUE. THIS MEETING WOULD NOT INVOLVE SENIOR OFFICIALS (E.G., NOT SAUVAGNARGUES OR ORTOLI) BUT WOULD BRING TOGETHER THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVES WHICH THE PARTIES ARE NOMINATING TO PURSUE THE EURO/ARAB DIALOGUE. THE PURPOSE OF THE OCTOBER 20 MEETING WOULD BE TO AGREE ON PROCEDURES FOR THE DIALOGUE. THE FIRST MEETING OF THE DIALOGUE'S GENERAL COMMITTEE WOULD TAKE PLACE SOMETIME DURING THE SECOND HALF OF NOVEMBER AND WOULD INVOLVE THE PARTICI-
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PATION OF HIGH-LEVEL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EC NINE, THE EC COMMUNITIES, THE ARAB LEAGUE, AND ALL ARAB STATES WHICH MIGHT WISH TO PARTICIPATE. PUAUX COMMENTED THAT THE ARABS SEEMED TO BE VERY INTERESTED IN THE DIALOGUE AND THAT ALL THE PARTIES ARE STILL AGREED THAT THE DIALOGUE WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM. WHILE THE DIALOGUE IS FOUNDED ON COOPERATION IN ALL FIELDS, HE ADDED, THERE IS, OF COURSE, A POLITICAL DIMENSION TO THE ENTIRE PROCESS. HE CLOSED BY SAYING THAT EVEN ISRAEL SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND THAT EURO/ARAB COOPERATION HAS A STABILIZING EFFECT ON THE REGION.

9. PORTUGAL: PUAUX SAID THERE WAS AN INCONCLUSIVE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 21981

DISCUSSION OF HOW THE EC NINE MIGHT HELP PORTUGAL IN ITS
MOVEMENT BACK TO DEMOCRACY, ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT CLEAR
EXACTLY HOW EUROPE MIGHT DO THIS. PUAUX NOTED THAT THERE
WAS NO PRECISE PORTUGUESE REQUEST TO THE EC FOR ASSIS-

TANCE, ALTHOUGH THE EC NINE WERE OPEN TO CONSIDERATION OF WAYS TO HELP PORTUGAL RESTORE DEMOCRACY.

10. EC-CANADA: RECALLING THE EARLIER HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT WITH THE EC (WHICH HE SAID RAISED MANY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS FOR THE EC), PUAUX SAID THAT THE EC HAS DECIDED TO HAVE A DIALOGUE WITH THE CANADIANS TO SEE WHAT THE CANADIANS REALLY WANT AND WHAT THE EC CAN OFFER. HE NOTED THAT CANADIAN PREMIER TRUDEAU WOULD COME TO FRANCE OCTOBER 21-22 AND THEN GO TO BRUSSELS. WHILE IN PARIS, SAID PUAUX, TRUDEAU WOULD SPEAK TO THE FRENCH--BOTH IN THEIR NATIONAL CAPACITY AND IN THEIR ROLE OF EC PRESIDENT. MOREOVER, HE SAID THAT THE EC NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS PLAN TO MEET WITH A SENIOR CANADIAN OFFICIAL IN NEW YORK DURING THE UNGA TO HAVE "AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON A POSSIBLE APER." HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE EC NINE DO NOT CONTEMPLATE AN EC-CANADA DECLARATION AT THIS TIME.

11. GISCARD'S SEPTEMBER 14 "DINNER/DISCUSSION": I ASKED PUAUX WHAT HE COULD TELL ME ABOUT GISCARD'S DINNER FOR THE EC NINE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THAT HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF THAT MEETING, ALTHOUGH HE SAID THAT THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT HAD MADE NO DECISION AND APPEARED TO AGREE THAT THE INFORMAL FORMAT OF THAT MEETING WORKED WELL AND SHOULD BE REPEATED. SIMILARLY, CONFIDENTIAL

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HE SAID HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THE EC NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS DINNER SEPTEMBER 16 WHICH HE SAID WAS ATTENDED ONLY BY FOREIGN MINISTERS WHO DEPARTED TOGETHER EARLY THIS MORNING FOR BRUSSELS.

12. I THANKED PUAUX FOR HIS INITIATIVE IN SHARING WITH ME THE SUBSTANCE OF THE EC NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING. HE SAID THAT HE IS PREPARED TO EXCHANGE "PRECISE AND DETAILED INFORMATION" AT ANY TIME WITH THE EMBASSY. WE AGREED ON THE NEED FOR FRANK AND CANDID DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE EC NINE WHENEVER WE AGREED AND MORE IMPORTANTLY WHENEVER WE DIFFERED, IN ORDER TO BETTER UNDERSTAND EACH OTHERS POINTS OF VIEWS.

13. COMMENT: IN THE COURSE OF THIS MEETING PUAUX SEEMED TO TRY TO GIVE MEANING TO THE IDEA OF CLOSER AND MORE NATURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. IRWIN

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